/32 cont./

535 on their kamadén (yagrumo) tubes, with swaying movements of the body from back to front or from left to right to make the skirt rustle, and they always walk somewhat hunched over. The dancers of the tukui walk as though in files behind the leader or drummer, sometimes in double file or paired, arm in arm. Sometimes the leader changes suddenly and makes them walk backward, a thing which usually catches them unaware and provokes great hilarity in them. At the end of each verse or poetic motif repeated an infinite number of times, steps are taken backward and foreward looking toward the center, where the camazas or canoes of kachirí are, great outcries are given, and /two plates appear here/ /33/ there is a pause for drinking. After a brief rest the owner of the drum again keeps time, intones new verses, and the dance continues until they run out of energy or drink. Some take turns resting so that the dance is not interrupted so long as there is kachirí.

71. It is needless to say that for mere observers such a dance, prolonged for 24 hours in succession, becomes monotonous.

535 But there is no doubt that the monotony diminishes for
538 the singers with the variety of verses; and it is even necessary and marvelously effective when it is considered in the terrain
533 of religion or of magic. (Remember the litanies and semi-intoned psalmody.) Whenever I deal with this matter, I remember the admirable reply of a Margariteño. I was talking to him about the monotony of certain dances and songs of theirs and he answered me with this dandy argument (as authoritative as a mace): "The frog knows fewer tunes and he spends the whole night singing."

538 72. The verses are generally in pairs, but without consonance or asonance (apart from one that is but a casual coincidence); sometimes logical parallelism occurs; also there is found in some cases the popular artifice of concatenation, in such a way that the last part makes sense with the first, e.g., the familiar "Three policemen tried to catch three because they said that they were three policemen."

*197
825

word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kalíña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

●[533] 304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tõkõnoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

825
231
177

305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

825
114

b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

825

306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

*197
825
262

(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" - Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ʾ, in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analyst]

534 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
171 202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[535] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the
Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepánes (von
[128] Hornbostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau
was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make
one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto
instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic
name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana),
from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leav-
ing only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well
as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning.
The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from
distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced
between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed
on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop.
This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover
the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike
that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike
any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[538] It is used in some dances, notably the tukūi' (not the parichara), and, unlike
● [533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for
simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering
along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty matches of
melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of
plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes
a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might
almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified
under European influence and others which are native copies of old European
models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instru-
ments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of
similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion 771 generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic. 171

The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).1/A Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the pro- [285] fession. He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation [276] occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some [533] hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

1/A [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 116 - Analyst]

754 [797] [128] and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepánes. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 535 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler spells and are called generically eremba. The most common is the okŏyima-eremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 535 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by everyone but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to²-esa³) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 [789] [533] [224] It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the eremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 [789] Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kamarakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro[a], and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro[a] but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
● [533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 – Analyst]

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not
535 frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are supposed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one
533 539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come, I have come, I have come, I have come.

(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi
Savage peccary's call.....etc.

(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi
Wild beast's call.....etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.

(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.

(3) wõyõpüi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast
535 and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged
[195] and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

[171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiⁿ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzs and fox trots. [302] For the tukiiⁿ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiⁿ dances are danced only [534] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various ɛrɛmba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

● 533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [223] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 249]

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[198] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maicha?.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.